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ABSTRACT

A longitudinal study of racial/ethnic residential segregation in 27 central Texas cities used data from the 1970 and 1980 censuses to investigate effects of 3 socioeconomic indicators (education, income, occupation) and other variables (age of city, city growth rate, percent of Black and Spanish population) on changes in Black-White, Anglo-Spanish, and Black-Spanish residential segregation. Descriptive and regression analyses, using standard indices of dissimilarity, were used to examine effects of the independent variables. Analysis indicated that changes in segregation were determined by different causal factors for different racial/ethnic groups. Results indicated that levels of segregation between Blacks and Whites and between Blacks and Spanish, and changes in segregation between groups over time could not be accounted for by differences in socioeconomic status. Analysis showed that improvements in social/economic status of Blacks did not lead to residential integration, and that the only socioeconomic factor that significantly affected Anglo-Spanish segregation was education, as high Anglo-Spanish segregation remained even when differences in income and occupation were low. Overall findings were that segregation between any two groups tended to increase with age of city, population size, and percentage of minorities in the population.
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THE EFFECTS OF RACE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS
ON RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN TEXAS, 1970-1980

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The search for explanations of racial and ethnic residential segregation has long been a major topic of interest to social scientists, particularly urban ecologists (Burgess, 1967; Park, 1967; Duncan and Duncan, 1955a; Leiberson, 1963; Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Marshall and Jiobu, 1975; Roof, Van Valey and Spain, 1976; Matre and Mindiola, 1976; Farley, 1977; Massey, 1979; Lieberman and Carter, 1982). Despite extensive research, however, many unanswered questions remain. Among the most sociologically significant of these are those related to the extent to which residential segregation is a function of socioeconomic status and whether segregation among different racial/ethnic groups may be differentially affected by socioeconomic status. Specifically, definitive answers have not been developed to such questions as:

1. To what extent is residential segregation among racial/ethnic groups a function of socioeconomic factors (such as differences in occupations, education and income, which limit the access of racial/ethnic minority groups to certain residential areas), rather than to discrimination, prejudice (racial) and other factors?
2. Will improvements in the socioeconomic conditions of racial/ethnic minorities lead to reduced levels of residential segregation between minority and majority groups?
3. Do the effects of socioeconomic status and the effects of changes in socioeconomic factors on segregation vary by race and ethnicity?

The literature related to such questions provides a variety of alternative and often contradictory answers.

One of the dominant views in the literature suggests that residential segregation between Blacks and Whites (Park, 1967;

Duncan and Duncan, 1955a; Lieberman, 1963; Marshall and Jiobu, 1975) and between Anglo and Spanish residents (Massey, 1979) are the result of differences in such socioeconomic status factors as income, education and occupation. According to this view, improvements in Black's and other minority group's socioeconomic status will lead to reduced levels of residential segregation. With increased socioeconomic status, the "competitive position" of Blacks (and other minorities) is improved and "as the differential decreases this competition involves groups of nearly equal power--in both occupational status and income--and it becomes increasingly difficult to contain Blacks within well-defined ghettos" (Marshall and Jiobu, 1975: 458).

The view that socioeconomic status differences do not explain the prevalence of residential segregation and that improvements in the socioeconomic status of minorities will not lead to decreased levels of residential segregation is equally well defended by other scholars (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Thomlinson, 1969; Roof, Van Valey and Spain, 1976; Bianchi, Farley and Spain, 1982). Thus, neither the Taeubers nor Thomlinson found significant relationships between improvements in socioeconomic status and Black-White racial segregation. Roof, Van Valey and Spain suggest that such a relationship does not exist because individuals and groups with different racial and ethnic characteristics do not have equal opportunities to compete for various resources and areas of residence even if they have similar socioeconomic status because:

Occupational roles, income and social privileges are racially contained, economic factors underlying choice of residence become hampered. Competitive resources are of little advantage in gaining entrance to integrated housing if Blacks are kept out of White neighborhoods because of either discrimination or Whites fleeing to other all-White areas . . . [As a result] competition may actually result in greater--not less--discrimination and segregation (Roof, Van Valey and Spain, 1976: 60-61).

Kain and Quigley (1975), King and Mieszkowski (1973) and Bianchi, Farley and Spain (1982) further support this view. Bianchi, Farley and Spain, for example, use 1977 Annual Housing Data to refute the Neoclassical or "Free-Market" economic view of residential segregation and find that even when socioeconomic status factors are controlled "Blacks . . . remain less likely than Whites to own homes and somewhat more likely to live in older, crowded and structurally inadequate units" (1982: 37).

Still other scholars maintain that socioeconomic status factors are likely to have quite different effects on segregation in different racial and ethnic groups. Thus although some maintain that Anglo-Spanish and Black-White segregation will respond similarly to changes in socioeconomic status (Massey, 1979), others suggest that Black-White segregation "is largely involuntary on the part of Blacks with the high levels reflecting a White distaste for living near Blacks coupled with the ability of Whites to impose their will through various discriminating forces" (Lieberson and Carter, 1982: 512) while Anglo-Spanish segregation "reflects a preference on the part of the latter group to maintain some minimal level of residential proximity with compatriots" (Lieberson and Carter, 1982: 511). If the

latter expectations are true, then, Black-White segregation might be expected to decrease as the socioeconomic status of Blacks increases, but Anglo-Spanish segregation might not be affected by changes in the socioeconomic status of Spanish-Americans.

It is evident, then, that many of the questions about the causes of residential segregation, particularly the effects of socioeconomic status on residential segregation, have not been adequately addressed. One reason such questions have not been adequately examined is simply that adequate analyses of them require the use of longitudinal data and such data have seldom been available. Thus except for a few excellent efforts (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965) examinations of the relationship between socioeconomic status and residential segregation have been cross-sectional. Although useful, cross-sectional analyses do not provide the bases to establish the effects of **changes** in socioeconomic status on **changes** in residential segregation. Longitudinal data is thus essential to address the questions basic to the analysis of residential segregation.

Because of the base of knowledge provided by several excellent analyses completed during the 1970s (Marshall and Jiobu, 1975; Roof, Van Valey and Spain, 1976; Matre and Mindiola, 1976), the publication of 1980 census data allows one to analyze questions related to residential segregation using longitudinal research designs and to partially replicate such efforts. This paper attempts a partial replication of such types of analyses using data from the 1970 and 1980 census for 27 central cities in

Texas. It examines both the cross-sectional effects of socioeconomic status indicators on levels of Black-White, Anglo-Spanish and Black-Spanish residential segregation in 1970 and 1980 and the effects of 1970-80 changes in socioeconomic status on 1970-80 changes in residential segregation when racial, demographic and other alternative explanations of residential segregation are controlled. The paper thus directly addresses the three questions raised in the introduction and provides additional insight into the effects of socioeconomic status on residential segregation.

Methodology

The analysis reported in this paper uses data from the 1970 and 1980 Censuses of Population and Housing to examine 1970, 1980 and 1970-80 changes in residential segregation between Black-White, Anglo-Spanish and Black-Spanish racial/ethnic groups in 27 central cities in Texas.¹ Residential segregation for 1980 was computed for racial/ethnic pairs for census tracts using standard indices of dissimilarity (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1965; Duncan and Duncan, 1955b). Indices for 1970 were obtained from data reported by Lopez (1981).

Descriptive and regression analyses were used to examine the effects of the key independent variable of interest--socioeconomic status--and several other alternative determinants, on patterns of residential segregation. Socioeconomic status was measured using standard indices of dissimilarity for three separate indicators--education, income and occupation. Indices

of dissimilarity were used to measure socioeconomic status factors because most analysts (Marshall and Jiobu, 1975) suggest that it is the differential between racial-ethnic groups' socioeconomic statuses that leads to residential segregation. Because of the lack of comparability of 1970 and 1980 data categories and the potential biasing effects of using different numbers of categories in computing indices of dissimilarity (Cortese, Falk and Cohen, 1976), data were adjusted to provide a similar number of categories for index computations. Given the extensive changes in occupational categories from 1970 to 1980 and the lack of racial detail, the 1970 index of occupational dissimilarity was used in the analysis both of 1970 and 1980 levels of segregation.

In addition to socioeconomic status, several variables were introduced into the analysis as alternative explanators of residential segregation. These factors are all factors which have been found to be related to residential segregation (Taeuber and Taeuber, 1955; Marshall and Jiobu, 1975; Matre and Mindiola, 1979; Collver and Semyonov, 1979; Logan and Schneider, 1981). They include: the age of the city, measured as the number of years since the city obtained a population of 10,000; city growth rate, measured as the annualized exponential rate of growth for the years since the city reached a population size of 10,000; percent of the population that is Black; and percent of the population that is of Spanish-Origin. The intercorrelations among these variables (and their measures of change) and the

indices of dissimilarity for socioeconomic status measures were examined and no serious problems of multicollinearity were found except for a few variables in the Anglo-Spanish models for 1970-1980.

These indicators and their effects on residential segregation were examined in three ways (reported in Tables 1-3). First, data showing the differences between Black-White, Anglo-Spanish and Black-Spanish indices of segregation and the indices of dissimilarity for the three measures of socioeconomic status in 1970, 1980 and the changes in these from 1970-80 are examined (see Table 1). The second part of the analysis consisted of performing multiple regressions on residential segregation of socioeconomic status indicators and indicators of alternative explanators for 1970 and 1980 (see Table 2). The final part of the analysis (see Table 3) examines the effects of 1970-80 changes in socioeconomic status indicators and indicators of alternative explanators on 1970-80 changes in residential segregation. Thus the analysis provides both a descriptive and analytical examination of the effects of socioeconomic status and changes in socioeconomic status on 1970 and 1980 residential segregation and on changes in residential segregation from 1970 to 1980.

Analysis

Table 1 shows the relationships between residential segregation and socioeconomic dissimilarity for different racial/ethnic measures groups. Panel A indicates that the mean

Black-White segregation score dropped from 76.5 in 1970 to 63.6 in 1980 (-18.9 percent). The socioeconomic dissimilarity between the two groups also declined, with the decline in differences in education (-10.4 percent) being almost twice the size of the decline for income dissimilarity (-5.3 percent). On the other hand, the percentage of Blacks in central cities increased slightly (1.9 percent).

Panel B in Table 1 provides similar information for the Anglo and Spanish populations. The decline in segregation between the two groups is relatively small when compared to the decline in Black-White segregation. The decline in educational dissimilarity between Anglos and Spanish is negligible, and there is a slight increase in income dissimilarity. These data also show that the Spanish population has grown rapidly in Texas' central cities.

The change in segregation between Blacks and Spanish groups (Panel C) was quite rapid in the 1970s. The socioeconomic dissimilarity between these two groups increased during this period. Overall, then, the Black-Spanish indices do not follow the expected patterns.

As a whole, the data in Table 1 suggests that for Blacks and Whites both the socioeconomic status differences between them and their residential segregation have declined. The declines in segregation between Anglos and Spanish as well as those between Black and Spanish were not accompanied by declines in socioeconomic status differences, however. Although the data in

this table are only descriptive, they clearly suggest that changes in socioeconomic status and in residential segregation did not follow similar patterns from 1970 to 1980.

Table 2 provides the results of regression analyses for three segregation indices (Black-White, Anglo-Spanish, and Black-Spanish) for 1970 (Panel A) and 1980 (Panel B). An examination of R^2 values in Table 2 indicates that, with the exception of Black-Spanish segregation in 1970, the model seems to account moderately well for Black-White, Anglo-Spanish and Black-Spanish segregation. However, further examination of individual coefficients reveals findings that are far from satisfactory. Contrary to the expectation that Black-White segregation would be affected by socioeconomic factors, the results fail to support this view. None of the three socioeconomic dissimilarity measures exerts a significant effect on segregation levels in either 1970 or 1980. Rather it is obvious that Black-White segregation is accounted for by factors that have little to do with socioeconomic status. Thus, the age of the city, the percent of a city's population that was Black (both in 1970 and 1980) and population size (1980 only) rather than socioeconomic status variables were the key determinants of residential segregation.

The Anglo-Spanish segregation models for 1970 and 1980 show similar results. For both periods, those factors that significantly affected the levels of Anglo-Spanish segregation, were percent Spanish and the level of educational dissimilarity

between Anglo and Spanish residents. Income and occupation dissimilarities between the two groups did not have significant effects on segregation. In addition, the signs for these factors contradict the theory suggested by Marshall and Jiobu (1976) and suggest that high Anglo-Spanish segregation remains even when the differences in income and occupational status between the two groups are low.

Unlike the Blacks and Whites or the Anglos and Spanish, the results for Blacks and Spanish indicate that Black-Spanish segregation experienced substantial change between 1970 and 1980. It is evident, however, that three demographic variables (population in 1980, population growth and percent of residents of minority status) not socioeconomic factors explained the largest proportion of explained variation in segregation in 1980 than in 1970. For Black-Spanish as for other forms of segregation, then, socioeconomic variables were not the key explanators.

The overall findings in Table 2 are consistent with the literature. Segregation between (any two) groups tends to increase with the age of city, population size, and the percentage of minorities in the population. Although educational dissimilarity between Anglos and Spanish tended to have some expected effects on segregation between the two groups, neither of the socioeconomic dissimilarity measures affected Black-White or Black-Spanish segregation. Overall, however, Table 2 suggests that Black-White as well as Black-Spanish segregation seems to be

more adequately explained by racial and demographic factors than by socioeconomic differences. At least in Texas, the decline in segregation between these groups are accounted for by demographic rather than by socioeconomic changes. The segregation between Anglos and Spanish residents is also not adequately explained by their socioeconomic differences as some researchers maintain (e.g., Massey, 1979). Thus, in places where Anglos and Spanish have similar income and occupational distributions they are not less segregated than in places where the two groups are more dissimilar in these respects. This may suggest that the arguments that Anglo-Spanish segregation might, at least in part, reflect voluntary actions on the part of the Spanish population has some merit.

Table 3 shows the results of the regression on measures of 1970-1980 change. An examination of the Black-White segregation model in Table 3, in comparison to the corresponding models in Table 2, reveals that the longitudinal model performs much better than the cross-sectional models. Thus, in the longitudinal model 75 percent of the change in Black-White segregation from 1970 to 1980 is explained as compared to only .56 (for 1970) and .63 (for 1980) in the cross-sectional models. However, Table 3 further substantiates that the decline in Black-White segregation from 1970 to 1980 (see Table 1) is not statistically related to the declines in educational and income dissimilarities between the two groups. Because a longitudinal measure of change in occupational dissimilarity was not available, the 1970 level of

occupational dissimilarity between Blacks and Whites was used as a control variable (in Table 3). The results reveal that although occupational dissimilarity was not a significant factor in the cross-sectional models, it did have a significant and negative effect in the longitudinal model indicating that the level of decline in Black-White segregation tended to be more substantial in places where occupational dissimilarity in 1970 was very high. The data available do not allow us to further examine this relationship, however, and thus the overall support for the effects of socioeconomic status on segregation must be considered to be relatively modest.

The proportion of explained variation for Anglo-Spanish segregation is nearly as high as for White-Black segregation (73 vs. 75 percent) but unlike the Black-White model, the socioeconomic indicators are the two most important predictors of changes in residential segregation. Unexpectedly, however, the negative relationship between change in Anglo-Spanish income dissimilarity and change in Anglo-Spanish segregation indicates that a decline in income dissimilarity was associated with an increase in the levels of segregation between Anglos and Spanish residents.

The model for Black-Spanish segregation is less adequate than that for the other two groups. The data in Table 3 indicate that, with the exception of city growth, none of the explanatory variables showed a significant relationship to Black-Spanish segregation change. Similar to the findings for Black-White

segregation change, the decline in Black-Spanish segregation was most pronounced in places that experienced rapid growth. Overall, the data in Table 3 show that socioeconomic factors were more important in explaining change in segregation than its levels in either 1970 or 1980. The increases in importance were quite small, however.

Conclusions

This analysis of pair-wise segregation among three racial/ethnic groups in 27 central cities in Texas indicates that segregation as well as changes in segregation were determined by different causal factors for different racial/ethnic groups. Congruent with the arguments made by Roof, Van Valey, and Spain (1976) and by Bianchi, Farley, and Spain (1982), the results of this analysis indicates that the levels of segregation between Blacks and Whites, those between Blacks and Spanish, and the changes in the segregation between such groups over time cannot be accounted for by differences in socioeconomic status. In fact, the findings seem to suggest that such segregation was rooted in racial and demographic factors. Although the analyses did show similar declines in segregation and socioeconomic differences between Blacks and Whites (see Table 1), the net effects of improvements in socioeconomic status among Blacks on Black-White segregation, when other demographic variables were controlled, were not significant. Improvements in the social and economic status of Blacks thus did not lead to residential integration. It thus appears possible for Black incomes to rise,

for their occupational statuses to be upgraded, and for their educational levels to increase without any significant improvements in their levels of residential integration (Roof, Van Valey, and Spain, 1976).

The argument that segregation between Anglo and Spanish residents will be reduced as the socioeconomic status of the latter groups upgrades to a level that is similar to that of Whites was only partially supported by the findings. The only socioeconomic factor that significantly affected Anglos-Spanish segregation was education. Although income was also found to affect Anglo-Spanish segregation change, its effect was opposite to that predicted. Occupational dissimilarity which has been considered by some (e.g., Roof, Van Valey, and Spain, 1976) to be a more effective indicator of the level of segregation between groups did not have a significant influence on Anglo-Spanish segregation, although 1970 levels of occupation dissimilarity between Blacks and Whites were negatively related to Black-White segregation changes. Finally, some support was found for the argument that segregation between Anglos and Spanish may be, at least in part, self-imposed. However, the definite answer to this hypothesis must await further analyses.

Clearly, one analysis of the relationship between socioeconomic status and residential segregation in one state is insufficient to suggest major changes in the theoretical literature in urban ecology. The results reported here, however, suggest that overcoming the barriers to racial and ethnic

residential integration may require sociocultural as well as socioeconomic change.

Notes

1. Because income for Blacks in Port Arthur and San Benito were suppressed in 1980, the analysis involving Blacks in 1980 includes only 25 cases.

TABLE 1

Mean Differences and Standard Deviations Between White-Blacks,
Anglo-Spanish and Black-Spanish Indices of Dissimilarity
for 1970, 1980 and 1970-80 Changes in Dissimilarities
for Central Cities in Texas

Panel A: White-Black						
Variable of Interest	1970		1980		% Change	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Residence	76.48	14.22	63.56	16.30	-18.28	12.83
Education	.25	.09	.22	.15	-10.42	29.34
Income	.33	.12	.31	.14	-5.31	26.44
Occupation	.25	.07	--	--	--	--
Percent Black	11.49	11.36	13.17	12.23	1.86	24.90
Number of Cities	27		25		25	
Panel B: Anglo-Spanish						
	1970		1980		% Change	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Residence	49.33	12.23	45.48	11.34	-6.91	14.07
Education	.27	.12	.26	.11	-.13	18.92
Income	.18	.08	.18	.08	1.03	21.34
Occupation	.15	.08	--	--	--	--
Percent Spanish	33.14	31.06	35.98	30.92	18.58	18.70
Number of Cities	27		27		27	

TABLE 1 (CONT.)

Panel C: Black-Spanish

	<u>1970</u>		<u>1980</u>		<u>% Change</u>	
Variable of Interest	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Residence	61.19	16.21	51.40	14.35	-17.68	8.44
Education	.23	.10	.24	.16	4.07	40.91
Income	.20	.16	.20	.19	4.47	50.05
Occupation	.20	.09	--	--	--	--
Number of Cities	27		25		25	

TABLE 2

Regression Coefficients (b), Standardized Regression Coefficients (B), and Multiple Coefficients of Determination (R^2) for Regression of 1970 and 1980 Residential Segregation on Socioeconomic Status and Other Indicators for Central Cities in Texas

Panel A: 1970						
Variable of Interest	White-Black		Anglo-Spanish		Black-Spanish	
	b	B	b	B	b	B
Intercept	.93	0.00	-34.90	0.00	-9.51	0.00
Age of City	-.40*	-.77	-.08	-.17	.06	.10
Population, 1970 ¹	7.99	.65	4.30	.41	6.85	.49
Population Growth ²	145.36	.14	164.21	.18	-187.82	-.16
Percent Minority ³	.48*	.38	.38*	.96	.16	.11
Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Education, 1970	-23.45	-.16	123.77*	1.24	3.64	.02
Income, 1970	-5.49	-.05	-52.06	-.34	11.26	.11
Occupation, 1970	14.72	.07	-21.06	-.13	-49.37	-.29
R^2	.56*		.75*		.44*	

TABLE 2 (CONT.)

Panel B: 1980

Variable of Interest	<u>White-Black</u>		<u>Anglo-Spanish</u>		<u>Black-Spanish</u>	
	b	B	b	B	b	B
Intercept	-25.30	0.00	-39.04	0.00	-65.42*	0.00
Age of City	-.48*	-.78	-.10	-.24	-.16	-.30
Population, 1980 ¹	11.31*	.73	4.49	.45	12.52*	.92
Population Growth ²	-252.94	-.16	60.25	.06	-612.69*	-.44
Percent Minority ³	.81*	.60	.30*	.82	.36*	.30
Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Education, 1980	5.67	.05	126.67*	1.22	7.75	.09
Income, 1980	-2.11	-.02	-21.69	-.15	-19.94	-.26
Occupation, 1970	-63.22	-.25	-23.40	-.16	-12.2	-.08
R ²	.63*		.78*		.79*	

¹The log of population was used in each of the 1970 and 1980 models.

²Annualized population growth

³Percent Black in White-Black and Black-Spanish models, and percent Spanish in Anglo-Spanish model.

*Significant at .05 level or better, one-tailed t-test

TABLE 3

Regression Coefficients (b), Standardized Regression Coefficients (B) and Multiple Coefficients of Determination (R^2) for Regression of 1970-80 Changes in Residential Segregation on 1970-80 Changes in Socioeconomic Status and Other Indicators for Central Cities in Texas

Variable of Interest	White-Black		Anglo-Spanish		Black-Spanish	
	b	B	b	B	b	B
Intercept	87.46	0.00	-59.77	0.00	-52.65	0.00
Age	-.33*	-.68	-.08	-.16	-.17	-.55
Population 1970 ¹	-4.81	-.40	4.96	.41	5.50	.70
Population Growth ²	-805.65*	-.64	-212.98	-.17	-565.36*	-.69
Δ Percent Minority ³	-.22*	-.43	-.10	-.14	.05	.14
Δ Indices of Dissimilarity for:						
Education	.10	.23	.70*	.94	-.04	-.19
Income	-.08	-.16	-.29*	-.44	.002	.01
Occupation, 1970	-849.84*	-4.35	153.52	.83	-229.92	-3.15
Interaction ⁴	73.81*	3.71	-7.22	-.49	26.94	2.81
R^2	.75*		.73*		.63*	

¹Log of population, 1970

²Annualized population growth to 1980

³Percent Black in White-Black and Black-Spanish comparisons and Percent Spanish in Anglo-Spanish comparison

⁴Interaction between population, 1970 and occupational dissimilarity

*Significant at .05 level or better, one-tailed t-test

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